1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

CHILDHOOD

BEGINNINGS

AT THE first signs of pregnancy a woman takes immediate steps to insure the safe delivery and good health of the developing child. To prevent injury to the fetus, she refrains from sexual intercourse as soon as the menses stop. 843

The food restrictions she observes are not onerous. She eats sparingly of fat meat lest the child become too large and delivery be difficult. She avoids eating animal intestines, a food associated with stillbirths in which the child is strangled by the umbilical cord. Piñon nuts are shunned also, for they cause the child to "have fat all over," thus prolonging delivery. [845]

An important restriction is the injunction against riding a horse; "the shaking is not good for a pregnant woman." This rule became extended in later days to include riding in wagons. [842]

The woman also avoids ceremonies where masked dancers appear, for the sight of the hooded figures "hurts both mother and child. The child might not come out and might kill the woman." Some prospective fathers are just as careful about this, because the impersonator has "a hood over his head and the child may be born with a caul over its face." Others hold that the rule concerns the mother only and that the father can look at the masked dancers and can even act as a masked dancer, providing all signs of this role are entirely erased before he returns home. 843 845 535

The pregnant woman refrains from excessive walking, from lifting heavy burdens, and from sitting up for long periods. She is urged to take sufficient rest. The consideration with which she is treated reflects the great love of children that characterizes the society. "A woman about to become a mother is treated extra nice, just like a child." Yet the performance of ordinary household tasks is considered beneficial to her throughout this period, and laziness and self-pity are ridiculed. "They say that when you sit on the child after the fifth month it will be harder 843 [855]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

843 for you. The child gets in the right position for coming out if you move around. The more you are a coward about it, the worse it will be for you."

842 Little attempt is made to control the sex of the expected child.
843 Whether or not such control is possible is a moot point. One informant told of "a ceremony which causes them to have a boy or a girl. It is performed right at the beginning." The man was unable to supply the details, however. On another occasion the same person stated that, if a man scrapes his foot over the four sides of the woman in labor, a boy is born; but, if a woman touches the four sides with her hand, the baby is a girl. Most commentators discount these claims:

> There are lots of people here who would control it if they could, like D., who has all boys and wants a daughter.

> Whether it's a boy or a girl is in Yusn's[1] power; that's the way I look at it. Some shamans say they can control it, but I believe there is nothing to that.

843 However, the activity of the child during the prenatal period furnishes a clue to its sex. A fetus which "has lots of life" is presumed to be a male; a less active one, a female. Estimates of the length of pregnancy are approximately accurate.

[578] It is essential for the expectant mother and her husband to
[754] avoid acrimonious clashes with others. "A pregnant woman has to keep out of fusses with other women because many are witches, and, if she quarrels with them, they may harm the child. The husband has to be careful of witches, too, when his wife is pregnant."

844 At the onset of labor pains close female relatives of the woman
[602] attend her. Her mother, her mother's sisters, her mother's mother, and her older sisters are members of the relationship group from which assistants are most likely to come. If the husband's family lives near by, his mother or sister may be present.
[759] When a woman skilled in midwifery is numbered among these relatives, no outside help is asked. Otherwise the service of a woman who has special ceremonial and practical knowledge is sought. Such a woman is often selected on the basis of "the good luck

[776] [1] A deity known also as Life Giver.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

CHILDHOOD

13 852

When the baby is from a week to a few months old, his mother 304
or his maternal grandmother pierces his ears. To do this she ap- 856
plies something hot to the ear and then punctures it with a strong [828]
thorn or a sharp bone. The child learns "to hear things sooner"
and obeys more quickly if this is done promptly. "When the
ears are not pierced, the child cannot be controlled; he will be
wild and go to the bad. It is believed that children grow faster
too if this is done." Pendants of white beads or turquoise are [301]
strung from the ears of very young children, and this mode of
ornamentation continues throughout life.

Sexual intercourse between a man and his wife is not resumed 834
until the child has been weaned. During this period of almost [862]
three years the couple is expected to remain continent. Actually [837]
some men contrive to "sneak around" and "find easy women"
with whom to have relations. But social pressure operates to en 834
force this rule of continence strictly in the majority of cases. A 626
man so importunate as to demand connection with his wife too
soon is subject to sharp criticism and is said to have acted
"against" his growing child. "There is a man whose child is not
walking yet, and his wife is pregnant. The Indians think he is no
good. We are ashamed to have a second child on the way before [163]
a first is weaned."

Because the mother's milk supply has been stopped or altered 853
by her new pregnancy, the nursing infant is "starved" and upset 852
and is likely to become a weakling. In such an emergency an- 843
other minor rite is arranged: [856]

There's a hair-cutting ceremony that I'm going to tell you about. Let us say a child is only a year old and the mother is pregnant again while that child is still nursing. Then the little child that is only a year old is sick; it has stomach trouble. Something must be done for that child.

When this happens, the mother usually takes the child to an old woman or [755]
someone who knows what to do. This old woman cuts the child's hair and puts red paint over the child's body. Then she gives it some kind of medicine.

Polygyny, though it is not widely practiced, exists, and a man 595
with more than one wife "is in a good position, for when one of 834
his wives is pregnant or has a nursing child, he can go to the
other."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

(a Chiricahua band) at present prepare the meats by boiling in water. 252 262

The seeds of the piñon pine *(Pinus edulis)*, which ripened in October, were very extensively gathered for food before they fell from the tree. The "nuts" were either eaten raw or roasted for a few minutes in a pan so they would keep, then shelled. Often they were mixed with pulp from the fruits of yucca to make a pudding. When used raw they were ground, rolled into balls, and eaten as a sort of delicacy. These Apache did not permit their pregnant women to eat piñons, lest the child would be born with fat all over the body and make delivery difficult. 139 [843] [845]

In times of food scarcity the seeds of the western yellow pine *(Pinus scopulorum)* were utilized but they never constituted an important article of diet on account of their small size. They were ground, the [illegible] portion rolled into balls and eaten raw. Those of the limber or western white pine *(Pinus flexilis)* were larger and might be utilized but were likewise of little importance since the species was not abundant. Formerly the seeds were gathered before they began to fall, by shaking from the cones, but never before fully ripened. They were then roasted and hulled, or sometimes the seeds ground, shell and all, and eaten.

It might be well in this connection to mention the use of pine bark as a source of food by the Apache. The inner bark of *Pinus scopulorum* is quite sweet and palatable and has often been utilized as food, especially when other foods were not abundant. Portions of bark were stripped from the tree and the inner bark scraped off. Hrdlička *(12:22)* referred to it as being baked in the form of cakes. Formerly these Indians cut out large squares of bark with a long pointed stick and scraped off the inner bark with a smaller, sharpened piece of wood. It was usually boiled, or it might be chewed and eaten raw, but in this state it was rather difficult to digest. If boiled for a considerable period of time the sugar would crystallize out. The bark of large aspen trees *(Populus tremuloides)* was also utilized in the same [413]